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Alan Brown
Ghost of Ramsay MacDonald

Jim Sillars MP
Referendum: Say No!

Fergus Nicholson
Rome and Your Vote

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Thirtieth Anniversary of the Second World War

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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GHOST OF RAMSAY MacDONALD

Alan Brown

IT is in the nature of consistent right-wing social democratic leadership that its ultimate loyalty must be to the *status quo*—to the system which nourishes it—and not to the aims and aspirations of the labour movement. Even in 'normal' times it has the most tender and constant tactical regard for the needs of the ruling class (German rearmament, nuclear weapons, pay restraint, etc), but at points of crisis, when the 'give' has gone out of the system and there is no leeway, then such right-wing elements are obliged to stand in their true colours. Such a moment came in 1931, and one has come again over the Common Market issue. As in 1931, so today, the critical point stems from the deepening crisis of British capitalism and its relationship with the rest of the world (both the declining capitalist sector and the growing, flourishing socialist and newly-independent sections). Then, as now, a right-wing grip at cabinet level faced a clear decision between policies in the interest of the working class and those demanded by the ruling class. In 1931, massive and debilitating damage was done to the Labour Party, the movement as a whole and the mass of the people by the decision to sell out to ruling class interests; in 1975 the same pattern is to be seen, with one major difference. This time the broad labour movement is far stronger and in a position to not only prevent the right-wing sell-out but greatly strengthen itself in the process.

What happened in those August days of 1931, 44 years ago, when the second (minority) Labour government crumbled in face of the enemy? The economic situation was grim, unemployment grew daily, overseas bankers were providing funds—at a price. The Labour cabinet—as today, divorced by its policies from the mainstream of the movement—was under fierce pressure from finance and big business, British and foreign, to reduce living standards—and particularly to hit at the benefits paid to the over 2,500,000 unemployed—as a means of solving the crisis. A committee, appointed to consider national expenditure and headed by Sir George May of the Prudential, reported that the budget deficit for 1932-33 was likely to be £120 million. It suggested that about £100 million of this could be met by economies, the majority of it by lowering the standards of the workless. The eventual cabinet division came when a clear proposition was before them to cut unemployment benefit

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by 10 per cent. John Strachey described the cabinet position thus*:

> . . . there was no further question of giving the workers anything. On the contrary, the question of how much had to be taken away from them began to be asked with ever-growing insistence. And when it was no longer possible to delay giving the answer for even another week, the Labour government simply broke up. For a majority of its members took the view that while it was easy to give the workers social reforms instead of socialism; while it was even possible to arrest the progress in social reform achieved by all previous capitalist governments, and to give the workers nothing at all, yet it was not possible for a Labour government to take back from the workers what the capitalists had already given them.

A classic position, but still only the view of the 'firmer' members of the cabinet, while outside the Tories (led by Stanley Baldwin) bayed, and the big business chorus grew louder. Events reached their climax in August at panic-stricken meetings. On August 21, at a meeting with the Cabinet Committee considering proposed economies, the TUC General Council was told by Philip Snowden that the government were making no proposal for a cut in unemployment benefits. But the proposal was put before the cabinet, and two days later it split. The moment of truth had arrived. Ramsay MacDonald went to see the King, with his unsuspecting colleagues and the labour movement assuming that he would hand in his resignation. What happened was that he agreed, with Baldwin and Liberal Leader Sir Herbert Samuel, to form what became known as the 'National' government but what was in reality a vehicle for carrying out Tory policies. The treachery had been worked, behind the back of the movement. A miserable rump of Snowden, J. H. Thomas and Lord Sankey followed MacDonald from the Labour cabinet, together with 13 other Labour MPs and Lords, crossing the House to join with the Tories. At the Labour Party Conference later that year questions were asked about the lack of contact and confidence between the leadership and the rank and file, but Arthur Henderson (who had taken over as Leader) said it would take too long to go into that.

It did not take long, though, to cut unemployment benefits by 10 per cent (e.g., from 17s to 15s 3d a week for adult males), increase income tax and duties on beer, cigarettes and petrol, slash local authority expenditure and cut the pay of all public servants by 10 per cent as well. But the people bore the brunt in other ways, for when an election was called in October the Labour Party suffered a catastrophic decline, from 265 seats to 52, while the Tories went

* *The Coming Struggle for Power*, Gollancz, pp 308-9.

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from 263 to 471. Such were the immediate results of treachery in 1931.

What of today? What of the recent charades, intrigues and outright desertions to the Tory voting lobbies? Looked at in any other context than the satisfaction of ruling class demands, the right-wing performance over the Common Market either makes no sense at all or amounts to crass political stupidity. It is neither.

Consider October 1971. The Tory government was already under severe pressure from the working class, particularly over wages and its Industrial Relations Bill (later to become the ill-starred Act), and popular feeling was against going into the Common Market. What was needed, and was possible, was a united fight by the labour movement against the Tories on every front in order to do to them in that year—and more effectively—what in fact had to wait until 1974. The moment came on October 28. Yet, in a Commons division on a Tory motion agreeing the 'principle' of going into the Market, 69 Labour MPs voted with the Tories (20 more abstaining) in a vote without which Britain would not today be in the Market and the Tories might well have been forced out of office before they could even enact their anti-union legislation. Playing the Tory game, Wilson allowed the deserters and the abstainers to turn their backs on the decisions of the main labour movement organisations, opposing Market membership: only *after* October 28 was discipline on that issue to be maintained. The Tories were saved. As RPD pointed out in the 'Notes' of December 1971, the 'complex interplay' was that 'Heath strikes a blow at the British people. Jenkins comes to the rescue of Heath. Wilson comes to the rescue of Jenkins.' The outcome was that the Tories won the vote by 356 to 244—instead of losing it by 287 to 333 as would have happened had the 89 Labour MPs been obliged to follow policy. This was the fundamental sell-out, engineered to get Britain into the Market, and which meant also keeping the Tories in power to hit the trade unions. It is not necessary to be a political genius to work out that to keep a Tory government in power (*à la* Wilson) is the same as putting one in power (*à la* MacDonald).

Come to 1975. What is the situation? Let Ian Mikardo MP, former Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, sum up the position of Wilson and his close right-wing lieutenants:*

> Leaving aside the odd fringe supporters on both sides, the line-up looks like this. The Prime Minister has behind him two-thirds of his cabinet, over half of the rest of his government, a large majority of Conservative MPs,

* Speech at Wythenshawe, March 21, 1975.

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> all the Liberal MPs without exception, any other politician or would-be politician who may conceivably be influenced by the Prime Minister's formidable powers of patronage; the Confederation of British Industry, who believe that what's good for General Electric is good for the nation; the City, who do not give a damn what's good for the nation as long as they get some easy pickings out of it; all the Conservative newspapers and most of the other papers; and the vast funds of the European Movement, largely contributed for their own interests by the big multinational combines.

That, Mikardo went on, 'is a pretty motley, multicoloured army' for a Prime Minister, and especially a Labour Prime Minister, to lead into battle against the solid heart of the labour movement: two-thirds of the Labour Party's executive, the bulk of the active members, and the overwhelming majority of the general council, the TUC, and the trade union movement as a whole. We may add the Communist Party and Co-operative Party also, to round the picture out. In other words, we are talking about a Labour Prime Minister currently making common cause with the core of reaction against the very heart and soul of the working class movement. The latest result of this political rag-bag arrangement comes, at the time of writing, in the House of Commons vote of April 9, after three days of debate on the 'terms' supposedly renegotiated by the Wilson government. History here took another twist, so that, whereas previously it was Wilson who saved Heath, it is now Thatcher who saves Wilson. The ghosts of Baldwin and MacDonald dance with them. The Prime Minister is left with a minority of his own Parliamentary Party in his lobby, despite the cajoling, the threats and blandishments. Not only that, but 38 of his chosen ministers vote against him in an unprecedented display of principle so far as the Commons is concerned. Eric Heffer, Minister for Industry, defies the 'gag' notice and speaks in the debate, only to be sacked the moment after the voting figures are made known to Wilson (and is probably the first minister ever to be sacked for speaking up in a debate on which there was a free vote—if the word free can be used in this context). The 145 Labour MPs who voted against the terms and the Market (with only 138 supporting the government) thus make another anti-Market majority in the labour movement. Not one major body in the movement has voted for the Market, and the Wilson rump now stands more isolated than any Labour leadership in history. As the *Times* commented on April 8:

> If they cannot muster a majority in the Parliamentary Labour Party, there will be no power point in the organisation of the labour movement, apart from the cabinet, where their mind prevails. They will be treading near the quagmire which swallowed MacDonald.

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We may ask why? What explains this 'motley, multicoloured army'? What overriding principle could explain Harold Wilson (the 'supreme professional politician') wallowing in this sort of mud, and spurning heaven-sent political advantages and opportunities? Apologists speak of his guiding principle being the unity of the Labour Party. Yet the only hope of unity has, over recent years, been on an anti-Market basis. Wilson's concept of unity is in fact to proclaim right-wing policies and threaten those who oppose: it means making room in the cabinet and elsewhere for right-wing elements who work against party policies. No, unity is not the reason for his pro-Market stand. Does he proclaim Market membership as a principle? Does he come out as a committed Marketeer? Again, no. He subordinates the *membership* issue to that of the *terms* (but the 'complex interplay' is involved again, for he has the Jenkinsites to trumpet the 'principle' of membership for him). On the surface it would appear that he throws away one political opportunity after another for marginal economic considerations—but merely to state the proposition is to expose it for the nonsense it is. In fact, he works on the basis that the referendum can be swung the Market's way by the vast financial resources behind the pro-Market organisations, the built-in bias of the Tory press, the radio and television, plus the central handling of the issue by government and civil service.

The Common Market issue is no ordinary one. It is crucial to the ruling class. It brooks no compromise: in or out is a straight issue. Thus it is necessary for Wilson to find his accomplices and followers where he can, to threaten those around him, and to let fall strong hints that those who do not fall into line be neither forgotten nor forgiven when his 'formidable powers of patronage' are wielded in a re-shuffle to follow the referendum. The ruling class estimate that membership is worth countless millions to them (and while this may be true it is also a fact that membership is itself an act of desperation, whose longer term results might not be so rosy for British capitalism). Thus every ounce of guile must be used, every pound of power, every inch of leverage and every tainted penny into the bargain, in order for them to get their way. The recent, sick, anti-Soviet campaign on the occasion of the Soviet trade union visit was a case in point, not unconnected with the fact that trade with the socialist countries would be a major part of the economic alternative if Britain rejects Market membership. As a very useful LRD pamphlet says, getting out would make us

> . . . free to take positive measures to increase our trade with developing countries and socialist countries and others who have a greater need for our

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manufactured goods than the EEC countries who make the same sorts of goods as we do.*

A deep principle issue has been raised on the Common Market—that of the sovereignty of parliament and the self-determination of the British people. But this is turned away contemptuously: 'We are not clinging like woad-painted aboriginal Britons to outmoded concepts of national sovereignty,' Wilson told the Commons on November 8, 1962. It was, he explained, a question of how one sacrificed sovereignty, to whom and for what purpose. Precisely, for it should not be forgotten that the battle for the independence of parliament and its sole right to make our laws, levy our taxes, decide our legislation and establish the Court of Appeal in legal cases was long fought and hard won. Many of the proudest moments of our history lie in the battles to establish for parliament what Churchill in 1945 called 'the title deeds of democracy'. The Magna Carta of 1215 and the Civil War helped establish the independence of people and parliament. The Bill of Rights drawn up at the time of the 1689 revolution stated that raising taxes without the consent of parliament was illegal—and it is doubtful whether the British people would long tolerate a Wilson/Jenkins/Thatcher/Heath coalition giving powers to unelected foreign bodies in Brussels they would not dream of giving to British monarchs.

Treachery, aided and abetted by threats and bullying, and accompanied by desperation, are hardly weapons designed to advance the people's cause or interests. Nor are they designed to do so. Whether, allied to the weapons of the ruling class itself, they will help save the day (temporarily) for the bankers, multinationals, big business and other financial interests, remains to be seen when the referendum is held. Two things are certain, however. First, that the labour movement can never be the same again; this exposure of the length and depth to which a Labour leadership is prepared to go in Tory ruling class interests will sink into the hearts and minds of the active backbone of the movement, leaving it wiser than before. The lesson must be learned far outside the confines of the Common Market issue itself, in every aspect of labour movement work, and in this way the working class will strengthen itself against whatever it faces in the future. Secondly, compared with previous decades, the movement itself is stronger, better organised, more confident, more sure-footed on policy, more united and more vigorous. It has in recent years smashed Tory laws and Tory government. In the coming weeks a massive amount of work will be done to convince every worker of

* *The Common Market: In or Out?* **Labour Research Department, 30 pp, 20p.**

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the need to reject the Common Market. Many now sense that, this time, the treachery can be defeated, Britain unshackled from the Market, the Tories and their hangers-on (together with the national and international financial interests) defeated. In June, our working class movement can assert itself as it has never done before. Vote 'No'!

Postscript, April 17 1975: Healey's April budget is a twin to Chancellor Snowden's of September 1931. Higher income tax, dearer beer and tobacco, dearer food (through subsidy cuts), slashed public expenditure, increased unemployment. The *Times* applauds, the speculators fatten—but the unions sound a warning!

SAY NO!

Jim Sillars MP

BEFORE Britain entered the Common Market, the 'pro' side had a field day in which they scattered the wildest but most attractive promises around everywhere. There was to be perpetual growth in the economy, 5 to 6 per cent at least; wages would sweep ahead of prices making the standard of living more meaningful than the cost of living; workers would find it easier to get longer holidays; investment would boom and unemployment plunge downwards; our balance of payments would benefit from the dynamic effects of entry; the £ would become strong and a new dawn would herald in an era of hitherto unknown prosperity.

All a load of rubbish of course, and proved to be so by the actual consequences of entry. The EEC bubble has burst not only for us but for the original Six as well, but as we entered on the most foolish terms and at a time of EEC economic decline, Britain has been the country to suffer the gravest crisis.

Now that the final decision is about to be taken through the referendum, the pro-Marketeers are as voluble as ever. Gone, however, are the glib promises of all things bright and beautiful; instead there pours out a torrent of pessimism about the consequences if we leave the Market. How people who were totally wrong last time can still be treated seriously is a matter only the pro-Market media can answer.

However, to dismiss them as the people who led parliament astray in 1971 and 1972 will not be sufficient. We shall have to tackle the main burden of their current argument, that perdition awaits Britain if it leaves the EEC and also that no real alternative now exists.

The tactic of the pro-Marketeers is to scare the pants off the

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British electorate. To paint such a gloomy picture of a future outside the Common Market—of a collapsing currency, roaring inflation, heavy unemployment and massive balance of payments deficits—is by their reckoning the best way to persuade the people that a NO vote would be equivalent to national suicide. The majority of the cabinet are joining in the game and the government White Paper on the renegotiations is a gospel of despair when the very idea of coming out is raised.

Well, how do we answer the fearmongers? First by pointing out that in the Norwegian referendum the same dire consequences of a NO were forecast by every pro-Market opinion inside and outside of that country. If Norway said NO, then automatic collapse was to follow.

In reality, Norway has gone from strength to strength. As a member of the European Free Trade Area she has a free trade agreement with the Common Market; but, as EFTA is basically an organisation to promote inter-European trade and does not have pooling of sovereignty as its principle purpose, Norway is able to take decisions on her domestic affairs which are suitable for Norway.

The alternative for Britain? There are alternatives. The Common Market is not the only market in the world. The world is bigger than a bit of Western Europe. Indeed the growth area today is the Middle East, awash with petro-dollars and hungry for manufactured goods; and tomorrow's growth area is likely to be the continent of Africa and a good part of Asia. Leaving the EEC will in no way harm our chances of gaining trade in the oil rich and potentially rich parts of the world.

It is highly unlikely if we decide to leave the EEC that the Market countries will lock us out of their markets. If they did such a foolish thing it would harm them more than us. Because our balance of payments has gone badly in trading with the EEC (about −£2,000 million this year), a lock-out would greatly help our balance of payments. We would be importing less from Germany, France, Italy, Holland, etc, and they would suffer from a loss of our (to them) valuable export market.

But of course when we consider Britain's strategic importance to this group of capitalist nations—our integral role in Nato, our troops in Germany, our key position in their financial world—we can see why they want us in and why they will never lock us out.

Added to these factors is our oil. Can any reader really see the EEC locking out completely a country which by the mid-1980s will be the richest and largest West European oil and gas producing nation?

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What will happen, when the British people say NO, is that our government will rejoin EFTA and thus secure free trade with the many countries in Western Europe, including those making up the Common Market. It is in the interests of all, especially of the EEC, that this be done.

We will then be able to repeal every food tax presently placed on commodities coming in from New Zealand, Australia, Canada and other Commonwealth countries. We will be able to repeal VAT, and at a stroke make a significant contribution to cutting our domestic inflation.

We shall also then be able to control the flow of capital from this country, and guarantee that it goes to where it is needed: not into property speculation in Rome, Frankfurt, Bonn and Paris, but into the development areas of Merseyside, the North of England, Wales and Scotland. This action alone will boost our productive capacity and allow us to do what we should be doing—looking at the whole world as a trading possibility, and getting out and selling British manufactured goods to those who want them.

The pro-Marketeers are fond of saying that the alternative to remaining in is higher unemployment, balance of payments problems and inflation. But in fact all of these we have now as a direct consequence of having gone into the EEC organisation in the first place. That is the pro-Market weakness. They took us in, and every promise they made has turned to dust. We must pin that on them as the first part of our referendum tactic, and then talk seriously and sensibly to the people about how we shall become once again an international trading nation, self-governing and able to take decisions which are right for our people.

The alternative to the EEC is self-government and economic recovery through the management of our own affairs. That is the message we must drive home to the British people.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

May Day greetings from the South Wales miners and their families.
We call upon all the British people to give a resounding 'NO' to the Common Market
Emlyn Williams—*President* George Rees—*Vice-President*
David Francis—*General Secretary*

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TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION
REGION 4, WALES

sends fraternal greetings to all
fellow trade unionists

National Union of Mineworkers
Derbyshire Area

Greetings on May Day 1975

We say 'No' to the Common Market because:

1. The economic disadvantage of Britain's membership is overwhelming.
2. It prevents the creation of a wider European unity.
3. It is purely a capitalist grouping, whose only achievement is to push food prices unnecessarily high.
4. Since the British Tories took Britain in, it is extremely unlikely that it will benefit the working class.

Greetings
from the
Morning Star

Celebrate May Day by gaining a reader for the only national daily paper opposing the Market

TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION
REGION No 6

May Day greetings to
trade unionists everywhere

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ROME AND YOUR VOTE

Fergus Nicholson

THE Labour government's White Paper on the results of re-negotiation states that British sovereignty has already been abridged, for example, by membership of Nato. This is true. The North Atlantic Treaty allows other member countries to intervene in Britain to resist *internal aggression*. This is not a case for joining EEC. It is a case for leaving Nato.

For us there are two parts to the sovereignty argument. One, is it true that membership of the EEC involves a significant shift of sovereignty, of state power? Two, if so, does it really matter? The second question is really a new variant of the old question, does it matter to workers or socialists what kind of capitalist government we have.

The first question is obscured by the illusion that Britain is already in the Common Market. In fact, come Referendum Day, we will still be less than half way through the 'five-year transition period', at the end of which Britain would be in the Common Market as deeply as, say, France or Italy. Even then however the Common Market itself will be in a fairly early stage of the transfer of sovereignty envisaged by the Rome Treaty.

A simple example of existing diminution of sovereignty was provided in the *Times* of February 19, 1973, which reported that the Italian Republic had lost, with costs, a case brought against it in the EEC Court by the EEC Commission. Italy's offence was that it had failed to implement Regulation 2517/69 made by the EEC Council, which required all members to pay fruit producers a premium for the *destruction* of apple trees, pear trees and peach trees.

The European Communities Act 1972 of the United Kingdom parliament, bringing the Rome Treaties into force in the UK, stipulates:

> All such rights, powers, liabilities, obligations and restrictions from time to time created or arising by or under the Treaties, and all such remedies and procedures from time to time provided for under the Treaties, as in accordance with the Treaties, are *without further enactment* to be given legal effect or used in the United Kingdom, shall be recognised and available in law, and be enforced, allowed and followed accordingly.

Ministers, by Order in Council are, by the same Act, empowered to make additional regulations implementing Community obligations.

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The aims of the Community are set out in Articles 2 and 3 of the Rome Treaty: they include a common economic policy, common labour and capital market, common plan for external trade, similar laws as far as necessary, joint association with overseas territories (ex-colonies) and especially 'the institution of a system ensuring that competition in the Common Market is not distorted.'

There is virtually no limit to the power of Common Market institutions to operate these principles, and Article 240 stipulates that there is no time-limit to the Treaty.

To disguise this, apologists for the Market pretend that Council decisions must in practice be unanimous. The Treaty however provides that only 41 votes out of 58 are sufficient after a transitional period. Then, for example, Britain, Ireland and Denmark, with 16 votes between them would be unable, voting together, to block a decision.

Does this transfer of power matter?

No other Common Market country has ever had a majority Labour government. At best the Common Market semi-government is a power-sharing coalition of coalitions.

In the past, capitalist states in crisis have on occasion jettisoned the trappings of democracy in favour of naked fascist dictatorship of capital. The Common Market offers them the possibility of a judicious mixture in the Council of the two forms of government, in the event of the emergence of fascism in any Common Market state, or the admission of any fascist state to the community. The *Evening Standard* on March 7 discussed moves by the present Spanish establishment supported by the French president for entry to the Community after Franco's demise.

The Commission, the civil service cabinet of the Community, can theoretically be removed by the Assembly, which consists of delegates from the nine parliaments, or by the Council. In either case, however, the existing Commission only ceases to function when it has been replaced, and replacement is by unanimous decision of the member states (Articles 144 and 158). So, while the veto on the operation of the Council is a fiction, as a barrier to social change (the reflection of democratic changes in the member states) it is a fact.

It would take nine socialist governments to produce a socialist Common Market Commission. But while we wait for the ninth socialist government, we may imagine eight socialist governments trying to build planned socialist economics in a community which pays farmers to destroy fruit trees.

The Rome Treaty provides a closed circle within which socialism

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is not legally possible on paper. Yet each year it will become more difficult to withdraw.

Of course the Common Market will not save capitalism of whose morbid sickness it is a symptom; nor will it prevent our advance to socialism. It may however delay it, and it will probably make the business of achieving it much nastier for all concerned.

Conversely, Britain's withdrawal will have far wider repercussions, reducing imperialism's room for manoeuvre, and in the short run strengthening those interested in a business-like coexistence with the socialist world.

BONN AND THE REFERENDUM

Alan Winnington

SEEN from Berlin, if the British people do not take the present chance of getting out of the Common Market still with some skin left, we shall be displaying a degree of folly that would delight a three-card trickster's heart. Many of the pre-referendum, pro-Market arguments have an air of quaint insularity, of by-passing the potentially catastrophic political as well as the true economic dangers of staying in.

West Germany, which boasts of being the heir to that German Reich which began two wars, lost both and won the peace each time, has become the most powerful European member of Nato and of the Common Market. Under its thin foliage of democracy, real power is still rooted in the huge military-industrial complex which includes Krupps and the others who put Hitler in power. Former Chancellor Brandt's mildly progressive steps toward detente proved too much for entrenched West German reaction. Chancellor Schmidt, in retreat before the right, is encouraging its advance—an almost certain way of ensuring the electoral downfall of his own coalition.

When Britain was dragged into the Common Market, a new triangle was created and the antagonistic interests of the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and France collided inside an outward form of association, with vital consequences. The FRG is trying to use the new situation to push forward economic integration and new forms within the Common Market and Nato which will expand West German influence in Western Europe.

But within the Bonn—London—Paris triangle there are sharp differences of interest and of priorities, including France's attitude to

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the US and her refusal to participate in the Nato military organisation. Britain and the FRG are closer on these issues; but on the joint development of war materials France takes first place among Bonn's Nato partners.

There are many points at which interests collide, and each of the three (apart from other members of the Common Market) seeks to create counterweights to one or both of the other major 'partners'. There cannot fail to be a sharpening competition because all are trying to improve their positions relative to the others. And for the same reason each of the Western powers is trying to push through the sort of Common Market organisation which will best suit the interests of its own dominant monopolies at whatever cost to 'its own' public.

Bearing in mind that there is every likelihood of a Christian Democrat-Christian Socialist electoral victory on current form (and the CDU-CSU is even now largely calling the tune), the British people should realise just what they can be letting themselves in for if they fail to pull out of the Common Market while there is still time.

'Europe must become a state,' says Franz-Josef Strauss, spokesman of the dominant West German monopolists who want to expand their own power and strengthen the position of imperialism in Europe against socialism. Strauss goes further. The aim should be to create a large Europe (shades of Hitler) 'within which the German people will again be able to live as one' and which 'cannot end either at the Elbe or the Oder.' These Nazi-like aims would be much helped by nuclear capability, and what would be more normal than that a 'European state' in which the FRG had the most power should have its own nuclear force based on French and British nuclear weapons and know-how?

Such dangerous aims are not unrepresentative. In January the Free Democrat deputy, Hoppe, said: 'The will to state unity should remain the core of German policy.' This can only mean reversal of Brandt's *ostpolitik*. And where would Britain be as an element in a 'European state'? Helping the West Germans to roll back socialism?

Such right-wing views are regaining ground, which is why Chancellor Schmidt is pussy-footing over questions of citizenship of the German Democratic Republic and is condoning provocative moves in West Berlin. From such points of view, British membership of the Common Market could become a kind of super-Munich with Britain chained to the chariot. Aside from economic servitude and military dangers, Axel Springer's extreme right-wing *Die Welt* put another point:

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A popular-front regime in France possibly followed by a communist-socialist government in Rome, would end all hopes of establishing a genuinely independent and truly unified Western Europe.

Interpreted, this would read: 'A unified *capitalist* Western European state would block the way to . . .' Any European people introducing social change would be up against the whole Common Market, dominated by a West Germany dominated by . . .? West European economic and political union must mean military union. The last one to try that was Hitler.

The British people have all they need to build a prosperous socialist Britain if they get out of this dangerous agglomeration of super-monopolists and concentrate on getting the British capitalists off their backs.

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says NO to Common Market and sends fraternal greetings to trade unionists everywhere

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President

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DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

Commander Edgar P. Young
(RN Retired)

SINCE Fenner Brockway wrote his lucid and encouraging appreciation (*LM*, April 1975) of the situation regarding the coming resumed Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the continuing Conference of Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR), much has happened to indicate that the ground gained, at the first of these in particular, remains still to be defended by the international peace movement. The test of governmental agreement on the several 'principles' which he enumerated must be, he wrote truly, its implementation. It must also be sincerity of intention. It has been made patent by our government's White Papers and other public statements, including those made in parliament in relation to the former, that deliberate misrepresentation of Soviet policy and practice is being used to mask from a public still largely conditioned by decades of anti-Soviet propaganda, the insincerity of its own professions in relation to peace and disarmament.

Thus, for instance, when the Secretary of State for Defence, Roy Mason, was forced by Frank Allaun to admit to the House of Commons (December 16, 1974) that the 'cuts' in defence expenditure which he would be proposing when he presented his White Paper (March 16, 1975) would in fact be *increases* rising from £3,660 million for 1975 to over £8,000m. in five years' time, thus threatening our country with bankruptcy, he pleaded that 'a government's greatest service to their people is that of the preservation of life and freedom,' ostensibly threatened by the USSR. A sinister interpretation of the foregoing appeared later in the Defence White Paper, where one may read the following:

> The government does not believe that the Warsaw Pact countries would contemplate outright aggression against the West in present circumstances. . . . Detente is not yet irreversible, and until it is we should take a cautious view of the intentions of the Warsaw Pact. We cannot exclude the possibility that its members might try to use their massive military power to bring political pressure to bear on Western countries in the hope of influencing their external and even their domestic policies.

The trade unions have been warned!

This attitude was described by Mason's deputy, William Rodgers, as being 'based on a robust common sense', and the appalling thing

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was that neither he nor Roy Mason was taken up on it in the House of Commons. The same sort of 'smoke screen' was used shamelessly to mask policy in, for instance, the Indian Ocean for which the White Paper itself seemed to feel bound to apologise by describing it as 'reflecting inescapable obligations, notably to the security of our dependent territories, or former aspirations to a world-wide role'. It is surely the reverse of 'robust common sense' to ignore categoric undertakings by the USSR and other countries of the Warsaw Pact regarding territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and the peaceful settlement of all disputes.

On the Indian Ocean issue, Labour's honour was saved by Roderick MacFarquhar, MP for Belper, who simply ridiculed the pretence that Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean was a threat to our oil supplies round the Cape. He pointed out that, of the 365 million tons of oil which goes round the Cape each year, some 82 million tons only is for our country, the remaining 280 million going to other countries. Neither France nor West Germany, who get 92 million and 54.5 million tons respectively, feels moved to send naval forces 'to save it from the Russians,' he said, and he expressed disbelief that 'the absence of German and French warships from the Indian Ocean is because they believe that Britain can stand guard for them and that a British naval presence there is desirable.' By its persistent attitude in this connection, and in particular by its urging of the United States to spend money on what it describes as 'modest expansion of facilities' on the island of Diego Garcia, our government has simply made itself ridiculous to the point of having the US Congress refuse to vote the money required for what is obviously not 'modest expansion', and of having itself pilloried in the Bulgarian newspaper *Otechestven Front* of February 22, by an article headed: 'Are there Pirates in the Indian Ocean?'

The proposal to continue support of the Sultan of Oman against what the White Paper describes as 'a professionally organised and externally supported rebellion', moreover, won wry comment in the *Times* of February 7 from its diplomatic correspondent, A. M. Rendel: 'The Sultan's army, commanded by 350 British officers, has gradually extended the Sultan's sway from the immediate vicinity of the palace on the Salahah waterfront, four years ago, into a secure occupation of the whole coastal plain.'

Space does not permit on this occasion the writing of much more about the scandalous business of Diego Garcia. Plain speaking in sharp criticism of Britain's behaviour by India was reported in the *Times* of March 10. Readers interested in this should read the

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Hansard report of a debate in the House of Lords on March 19, ably opened by Jennie Lee (now the Baroness Lee of Asheridge), in which she and Fenner Brockway, backed by Lord Lee of Newton who spoke up for the Mauritians, made things very hot indeed for the government spokesman, Lord Goronwy-Roberts. As might be expected, this was reported very briefly only in the 'quality' newspapers.

It should be noted however in conclusion, since there is a tendency always to blame the Americans for what are the sins of our own imperialism, that the leading article of the *Sunday Times* of April 6 'spilled the beans' about Britain's *real* intentions in the Indian Ocean area on which the Defence White Paper states cryptically: 'The Five Power Defence arrangements include a consultative commitment, but no obligation to maintain British troops in either Malaysia or Singapore.' Commenting on the sequels to the US débâcle in Indo-China the *Sunday Times* is quite explicit about what our Labour government is proposing to commit us to:

> It is at least worth considering the effect of a communist Vietnam on Malaysia and Singapore. Britain has large tin, rubber and trading interests there, and also, even after the Defence White Paper, a 'consultative commitment'. This looks like a legal and moral obligation to be involved in Malaya's defence [*sic*] without a military capacity to fulfil it. A British government may one day have to decide whether its interests—rather larger than the Americans' in Vietnam—are at stake in Malaysia, and what should be done about it.

What the leader-writer had in mind here would seem to be indicated by his subsequent questions: What really are the proper limits of Washington's own interest, and of other countries' in relying on US power? Just how far west from Thailand is the doctrine of non-intervention right? A possible answer has been provided by the ex-Malayan civil servant, Sir Robert Thompson, on whose expert advice [*sic*] the US persevered in the war on Vietnam long after it was obvious to any discerning observer, including himself, that they could not win. He is quoted in the *International Herald Tribune* of April 9 as having said in Washington six weeks earlier: 'Eternal dishonour is a permanent commitment.'

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TENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Dilip Bose

THE tenth congress of the Communist Party of India (CPI) held at Bezwada, one of the biggest towns in the otherwise predominantly rural state of Andhra Pradesh in southern India, from January 27 to February 2, will prove to be a landmark in the history of our Party for more than one reason. That the decisions and deliberations at the congress exert an influence far outside the periphery of the communist movement is proved by the fact that almost every paper and journal in the country, in the English and Indian languages, gave coverage to our tenth congress.

The most striking feature of the congress was the very large measure of unity achieved, be it over the general political line of the Party, the policy of forging a broad national democratic front against the offensive of imperialism and right-wing reaction within the country, be it over the organisational questions and the unanimous election of the National Council and the Central Control Commission of the Party. And the National Council unanimously re-elected Comrades Rajeswar Rao and S. A. Dange respectively as General Secretary and Chairman of the Party. This tenth congress is a landmark also for the reason that India is clearly at the crossroads:

> The crisis of the capitalist path of development pursued by the Congress leadership has now reached an explosive point due to national factors as well as new factors arising out of the world capitalist system as a whole.
>
> (Political resolution passed at the congress)

India is facing a two-pronged offensive, the external attack being from US imperialism as it establishes a base in Diego Garcia, a small island in the Indian Ocean but thereby directly threatening India's security and sovereignty. And now, with the US arms supply to Pakistan directly, and indirectly through countries like Iran, the external threat is looming even larger. Internally, Jaya Prakash Narayan (popularly called JP; at one time the General Secretary of the now dissolved Congress Socialist Party in the days of British rule in India and considered then as one of our front-ranking leaders of the left; later in post-independent India posing as a non-party man and therefore supposed to be above mundane day-to-day political affairs) is leading the whole pack of rightist reactionary and

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even Hindu communal forces* against the Congress government led by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The tenth congress of the CPI therefore issued the call to forge a left and democratic unity. This means 'building up the widest unity between the left and democratic forces inside the Congress and those outside, between the masses following the Congress and the masses following the left parties, in the struggle against the forces of imperialism, monopoly capital and feudalism and for revolutionary democracy and basic structural changes, including changes in the state apparatus' (ibid).

But right reaction cannot be fought unless the masses are mobilised for certain positive demands of a radical nature. The rightist threat in our country is not a temporary or passing phenomenon, it is a continuing threat for the whole period of the world capitalist crisis and will remain in our national life so long as the socio-economic base of right reaction exists and is not demolished by popular anti-monopoly and anti-landlord measures.

Therefore 'the Party has correctly to grasp the dialectical inter-connection between the fight against the right and the fight for radical social change and for left and democratic advance for bringing about a shift to the left in the country's life' (ibid). This is what distinguishes the CPI's class line from that of the bourgeoisie in the fight against right reaction. Among the other lefts, the sectarians underestimate the threat of right reaction, while the right reformists would act as the defenders of the *status quo*.

The Party stands four square for the defence of parliamentary democracy which is under attack from right reaction. The Party exerts every ounce of its strength to build up a movement for national integration and to fight against every separatist move.† The Party also advances a general economic programme for improving the lot of the common man and for more equitable social justice. This latter

---

* These are represented by the Jan Sangha which would try to establish a Hindu Raj in India and oppress the Muslim minority population, as Hitler did in Germany.

† National integration in our country means better consciousness as an Indian national while maintaining one's own particular nationality, Bengali, Punjabi, Marathi, Hindi, etc, India being a multinational state. While every nationality undoubtedly enjoys a measure of autonomy, with its own distinct language and culture, there has recently been a move to further vivisect the nationalities within the boundaries of the states of India. For example, there was a strong movement to separate the Telengana region from Andhra State on the ground that Telengana was a comparatively neglected area. This is usually called a separatist movement. The Party in Andhra threw its entire strength against this separatist movement, and the CPI stands for stronger all-India integration.

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requires general restructuring of the whole five-year plan with greater emphasis and priorities for developing the core industrial sector and agriculture, and for reorientation of the credit policy in favour of the public sector, agriculture and small and medium industries.

The great help received from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation signed in 1971 for twenty years, is a most significant milestone in India's fight to safeguard and strengthen national sovereignty and build up a self-sufficient national economy. At the time of writing, talks are going on between the members of the Indian Planning Commission and Gosplan, whereby India's particular requirements will be taken into account in Soviet planning.

The Party congress noted with great satisfaction that 'the India government has on the whole been pursuing a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism,' and that this foreign policy is pursued in the context of an international situation where it is the world of socialism that determines the future course of world history.

The concluding day's open air rally and mass meeting drew a crowd of 500,000. Ten thousand uniformed volunteers with red shirts and caps controlled the whole milling crowd overflowing the field and the erected dais where the Party leaders and fraternal delegates sat and addressed the meeting until late into the night. This was also the place where, on other evenings of the congress, cultural troupes with songs and dances from every state of India performed for the delegates and the public at large.

It was really a small India, with all its diverse cultural patterns, that could be seen. And this whole place was named 'Rajani Palme Dutt Nagar* to commemorate our dear lamented Comrade RPD, so near to the hearts of all Indian communists.

The tenth congress of the CPI right at the start adopted a condolence resolution (with everyone standing and observing silence), and there was a special separate condolence resolution for 'our RPD' (as he is affectionately called here). Both resolutions were moved by Comrade Dange, who also sought special permission of the presidium to say a few words about RPD. The resolution recalled, with deep gratitude, reverence and love, Comrade Rajani Palme Dutt's help and guidance in shaping the revolutionary consciousness and perspective of the communists in India and their Party, and also personally of many who now occupy leading responsible positions in the Party at different levels.

* *Nagar* means a city or town or sometimes the site of some large-scale event.

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Later congress unanimously adopted a declaration amidst much enthusiasm that a yearly lecture be held by the all-India Party Centre, at New Delhi, named after Rajani Palme Dutt; and further that the Party's building, housing its central press and publishing house, be named 'R. Palme Dutt Bhawan' (*bhawan* meaning a building or a building area).

Fifty years ago, in December 1925, in a small secret meeting, the Communist Party of India was born in the working class area of Kanpur (then spelt 'Cawnpore'). Over the half-century the Party has grown steadily in spite of heavy imperialist repression and the initial mistakes of a right and more often of a left sectarian character, natural in the growth of a communist party in the conditions of India then, under the British Raj, and now.

We look forward with confidence to the future. The presence of 103 fraternal delegates from 27 countries of Asia and Europe, from Arab and Latin American countries, and a delegate representing the national liberation movement of one country in Africa, and the messages received during and after the congress from practically every communist and workers' party in the world, give us added confidence in the correctness of our line, and demonstrate the solidarity of the international working class and communist movement in our fight for national democracy and socialism.

'In Memory of RPD'

'On February 17, at 67 years old I did a "21-gun-salute-to-RPD" swim of 100 lengths in Blackburn baths. I will respond immediately with another 100 if sponsored for the fund': Les Bates, Blackburn. 'Enclosed is my most inadequate expression of respect for RPD over a period of some forty years': George Hunter, Oxford. 'Forward together in his mighty footsteps': W. Halland, Australia. 'I feel a most sincere sorrow for his passing, for I have benefited for over forty years by his keen insight and interpretation of world affairs': V. Clancy, Canada. 'Twenty-eight of the thirty-eight who contributed to this collection are under the age of 30—testimony to the greatness of RPD that he got through to the young people and that *LM* is highly regarded in this part of the world': Brian Filling and Bill Sweeney, Glasgow.

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F Crump £1, Les Bates £5, West Ham North Branch 50p, G Hunter £2, W Holland £5.60, V Clancy £2, B Filling, B Sweeney and friends £29.79.

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ERNIE ROBERTS
Assistant General Secretary, AUEW Engineering Section

Palme Dutt lived his life without any burning regrets, always concerning himself with the interests of the international working class and with the pressing need to establish socialism on a world wide basis as the only real solution to the oppressed people's problems. His continuous Marxist analysis of capitalism was of great assistance to us active trade unionists in our daily struggles with the employers, particularly in the engineering industry. *Labour Monthly* was the weapon he sharpened for use by trade unionists in their battles.

STEVE PARRY
National Secretary, National Union of Students

In paying tribute to RPD one cannot but highlight his 'Notes of the Month'. Working as I have done over the past few years in the youth and student movement, the importance of clarity of argument and a firm class perspective cannot be overestimated. The role of the universities and colleges, in impregnating this section of the movement with bourgeois ideology, makes the ideological struggle of the greatest importance. The brilliant exposition of Marxist-Leninist analysis contained in the 'Notes', especially with regard to the struggle against imperialism and support for the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, was invaluable and will continue to be so in the struggle to further develop the unity of the youth and student movement on a mass basis in alliance with the organised working class.

Let me quote from that leading communist and anti-fascist, Georgi Dimitrov: 'There can be no truer criterion for distinguishing between friend and foe of democracy and peace than the attitude to the Soviet Union.' RPD throughout his life was not only a friend of democracy and peace, but a leading contributor to the establishment of peace, democracy and socialism throughout the world.

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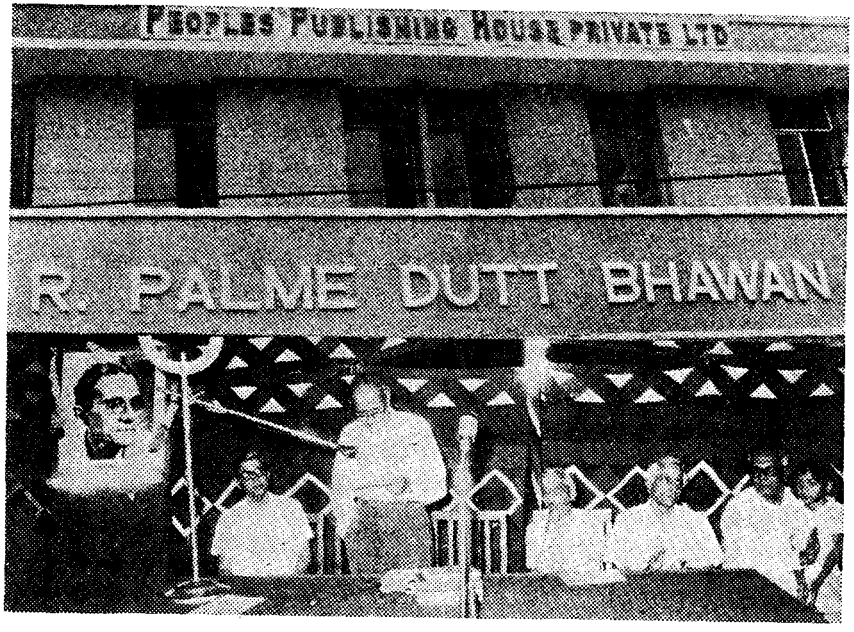

This photomontage appeared in the daily Hindi publication of the Communist Party of India on April 2, 1975. Dilip Bose sent it with an accompanying letter written that day:

'I am here in Delhi (a good 900 miles from Calcutta) to be present at yesterday's function which dedicated the People's Publishing House building to RPD. The photo shows Dr G. Adhikari at the microphone: on his left are S. A. Dange, N. K. Krishnan and Rajeswar Rao. On his right is M. C. Acharya, General Manager of the publishing house. On his right again, is RPD's photograph taken in 1946 when he was in India at the age of fifty. The picture was garlanded earlier in the meeting.

'The new name, *R. Palme Dutt Bhawan*, appears on the three-storied building in big red letters. The dais was at the ground-floor level, and the speakers addressed an open-air audience at a really impressive ceremony. Comrade Adhikari during his speech displayed the illegal editions of RPD's book, *India Today*, banned in 1940 by the British government in India, and referred to his many other writings.

'Comrade Dange said that RPD had been the Ambassador of the Indian freedom struggle in the heart of British imperialism, and recalled his warm fraternal relationship with Jawaharlal Nehru. Comrade Krishnan spoke of three generations who had learnt from RPD. Comrades who once had the task of bringing out *India Today* from the underground press in Bombay in 1940-41 were all present. Also in the audience were official representatives of the USSR, GDR and Bulgaria, intellectuals of Delhi, and students attending the current session of the Central Party School.'

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FIFTY
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LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

The whole foundations of Labour policy need to be revised in the light of the existing world situation. For the colonial question, which is at the bottom of the issues of foreign policy, is also at the bottom of the economic situation. The implications of the sweated labour of the East for the conditions of the British workers are at last beginning to penetrate the slowly moving perceptions of Labour politicians. The imperialism which seemed to offer such munificent rewards to a sane and patriotic labour movement is a two-edged sword; it can give, but it can also destroy. The most ardent visions of a national 'British' form of socialism, happily transfusing the Red Flag and the Union Jack, vanish into thin air when it is realised that 'British' capital is busily developing the exploitation of low-paid Continental and Asiatic labour in order from that (nationally) impregnable basis to undermine the economic foundations of the British working class. . . . But as these facts inevitably become more and more fully realised, the whole bias and outlook of the British movement will have to turn correspondingly. The first evidence of that new orientation is the campaign for international trade union unity.

(From 'Notes of the Month' by RPD, *Labour Monthly*, May 1925)

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Second World War: thirtieth anniversary

(1) A GENERATION OF COLD WAR

Ivor Montagu

THIRTY years from VE Day. The span of one generation. A human lifetime is not too long for the memory of an individual. But a new generation, subjected to the brainwashing of school, press and TV, to silence by omission and indoctrination by legend, may be conned into forgetting what it never experienced.

Nineteen forty-five: Britain and the USSR were brothers and victors. Thirty years of Cold War, and British teenagers are getting thrills out of riding swastika-painted motorbikes. Primary school-children think that Hitler was a Russian. (How should they not? They are taught both exemplify evil.) Ex-soldiers, sailors and airmen hob-nob officially not with former allies but with those they once saved the world from. Every storybook spy is a Russian (when not a Czech or a Chinese), every headlined Soviet trawler a 'menace'. In one incredible April week of 1975, Mosley is resurrected by the BBC as the 'most brilliant man in British politics' still awaiting his hour; and, on another telly screen, two pitiful Zionist demonstrators, only one generation away from the forbears whom Hitler murdered by millions, join hands with two Ukrainian admirers of the traitor Bandera, who did his best to help Hitler do it.

Thirty years revision of history. In 1945, the facts were burned into our blood. What all had just lived through was too new to blur. The trick that took shape with Locarno and misfired under Chamberlain—the plan of the West to let loose a rearmed Germany with a free hand against socialism—had left Britain isolated and near defenceless, but the Soviet Union had borne the brunt while Britain gained the time to recover. Twenty million dead was the price the Soviet ally had been left to pay for common victory, but the British people then, at least, had no doubt of what they owed and whom they had to thank. 'Another quiet night, thanks to the Russians,' murmured London citizens when the skies were free of raiding flames. 'May the Russians get there first,' was the spoken wish when at last the tide turned and the Allies were closing in on Berlin. And in the election that sent Churchill packing, for Tory responsibilities were still too fresh to be forgiven, army lorries on British roads bore the chalked slogan: 'Joe for King.'

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During the war, Churchill and Eden had been definite enough about the essential lesson for the future. Anti-Sovietism had given scope to Hitler and Mussolini and brought Britain and the world to the verge of disaster. Peace and prosperity depended on holding the new alliance together.

But words are one thing, deeds another. Does not the rhyme go: 'The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be. The devil was well, the devil a monk he'd be.' The battle won, the pledge forgotten—'The Moor may now depart.'

Scarce was the ink dry on the Potsdam Agreement than, behind the Nuremberg façade, the backers of fascism were being restored to authority in the territories of Western military government. The collective security prescribed by the UN Charter was replaced by a Western ganging-up in the Security Council, and a Nato from which the USSR was deliberately excluded.

The atom bomb—developed in flagrant disregard of the wartime engagement to share all weapons development technique with the Soviet ally—went to their heads. Greed won. The dream of a world safe for capitalism, not this time with the broken spearhead Hitler, could be revived now with the US, armed with a nuclear monopoly, at its head. Why conciliate? Confront! The Fulton of Truman and Churchill, seconded by Attlee!

The Grand Alliance is dead, long live the Cold Thirty Year War! Only one man really understood it—the British Minister to Sofia whom Claude Cockburn met there in 1945: 'So far as I can see, my job is to find out what the Russians are trying to do, and do the opposite.' But the Labour Foreign Secretaries soon learned. A various lot—Bevin, Morrison, Gordon-Walker, Stewart, Brown and Callaghan—they have one characteristic: all are eminently forgettable and will leave but one trace in history, that whenever Washington sneezed they all blew their noses.

In its early stages, Pritt and I were sitting in a Paris restaurant. A wealthy young American, on his way to big-game hunting in Africa, perhaps because he heard us speaking English came over and joined us at our table. He said, dreamily: 'It is an awesome thing to be born to rule the world.' The twentieth century was to be the American Century. Only three-quarters gone and already as dead as Hitler's 1000-year Reich. What killed it? Vietnam. End. Full stop. Time for agonising reappraisals.

Cold war was wrong in theory, painful in practice, and it didn't work. Wrong in theory because it presumed that socialism could be contained and eliminated by confining and ultimately destroying

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Russia. That all the woes of imperialism are due to communists. It is to suppose that Palestinians would love Israel, Cubans love the US, Vietnamese love Thieu, Africans love Smith and Vorster, and miners and other British trade unionists love the social contract and applaud the salary increases of judges, generals, company directors and cabinet ministers, if it were not for the reds. This is not true. It would not happen even if all the socialist countries were a blank space on the map.

Painful in practice because it has meant the diversion of vast productive resources and energies to war and preparing for war in a world a great part of whose population is stricken by hunger. Not only because in victim countries it has meant the encouragement of torture, slaughter, tyranny, but because it has meant a death of truth, a growth of complacency, shame, corruption in the inflicting countries and those that stand behind them. The infection is no respecter of heartlands whether via Watergate or Westminster.

And it has failed. But herein resides the plus for mankind, despite the wastage and the suffering of the thirty years—a new lesson of Canute. Paper over the cracks of capitalism as you will, cover over the ground with a coating of cement, the tender grass blades will yet thrust upward. What was to be crushed has risen.

In their megalomania over financial, industrial and nuclear strength in 1945, the Western sharers in victory with the USSR forget one thing stronger—the movement and the will of mankind.

Compare the stricken population and the devastated territories of the USSR in 1945 and the isolation sought to be imposed on it, with the extent, progress and prosperity of the socialist countries in 1975 and their ties with other nations of most varied social structure. Contrast the liberated nations of the third world with their former colonial status. Compare the UN and its inbuilt US-wrist-twisted majority at its inception with the ever expanding world and representative character of its growth. Contrast the economic woes of the capitalist states—misnamed 'world crisis'—with the stability and optimism in the socialist states.

The changes in the world are not a victory in the thirty-year Cold War for, or achieved by, any one people, but by and for all. The world learns, however slowly and painfully. In all the years of Nato, the vast military resources devoted to Nato have never once been needed for their ostensible purpose—to defend the Nato countries against predicted Soviet aggression. They have been used—in Europe, Africa and Asia—against their own or subject peoples, or against one another. When the Vietnam war comes to an end it will

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represent not only the triumph of the Vietnamese people but the dispersal of illusion and the appearance of a new will in the US people. It is healthy to retain a certain scepticism about the motives of such as Nixon and Wilson when they sign new treaties of co-operation with the USSR, but they would not have done so unless they reckoned that it would not only be advantageous to their state economies but popular with their electorate—for all the thirty years of lying.

Fact and common sense have proved stronger than the lie-factory. More needless suffering and more zigzags are surely yet to come. But, after thirty years, perhaps some newspaper or TV pundit, instead of yelling blue murder and interviewing purple-faced Admirals whenever a Soviet ship appears east of Suez, will think of suggesting international conversations on the Soviet proposals to make the Indian Ocean a sea of peace; or a few more statesmen and 'experts' will appreciate that Middle East peace is less likely through Kissinger against the Soviet Union than through Geneva with the Soviet Union's help.

The auguries for coexistence are more positive. Like Galileo, we may say of the earth: '*Eppur si muove*'—'Nevertheless it moves.'

Collet's

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May Day greetings to Labour Monthly and its readers

The battle goes on without, alas, RPD. The ideas inspire, though the body has departed. One day those ideas will prevail, not just in one part of the world, but in the whole world.

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NATIONAL UNION OF SHEET METAL WORKERS, COPPERSMITHS AND HEATING AND DOMESTIC ENGINEERS

May Day greetings to all trade unionists and their families

L. W. BUCK
General Secretary

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(2) BEASTS MAY FIGHT: LET MEN CREATE

Nikolai Gribachov*

WHOEVER forgets the past is unfit to create the future. This is no facile aphorism but the fruit of precious experience accumulated by man over the centuries and generations. And so, when we worry about the future, memory returns time and time again to the second world war. Almost all traces of it have been erased: the trenches are overgrown with grass; the ruined cities have been rebuilt.

But under the foundations of the new buildings lie blood, ashes and the bones of the killed. Ploughshares on the farms of Europe run into skulls; the roots of the wheat push their way down among bullet and shell cases. And on the anniversary of the day when the war ended, millions of people take flowers to the graves of the war-dead or to the flames of eternal glory. Not a ritual or a rite, but a vital necessity. Forgetfulness is fatal, for with it is lost the ability to understand the wholeness of life and the indivisibility of peace.

It is, moreover, a day for asking questions. Who reared and unleashed that monster of a second world war? Where were they looking and what were they thinking about, those countries that were to become its first victims? Why could not Western Europe, which had boasted of its democratic institutions and love of freedom, find the strength to stop fascism when it was about to spring? It is impossible to forget a statement by Jodl, a member of Hitler's General Staff: 'If we did not collapse already in 1939 that was due only to the fact that during the Polish campaign approximately 110 French and British divisions in the West were held completely inactive. . . .' Inactive? For what reason? How was it that the Soviet Union, regarded by Western politicians at the time as the 'chief threat to democracy' and, by Hitler's propaganda, as a 'colossus with feet of clay', succeeded in stopping Hitler's armies after bitter fighting and then drove them back to their final destruction? Finally, what lessons can the past give to the future?

Some Western historians explain war in almost mystical terms, as if it were something that comes down from above. General J. F. Fuller gives the origin of war a biological interpretation: microbe devours microbe, man devours man, nation devours nation. Fate,

* This article by a well-known Soviet poet, ex-soldier and journalist is taken, with acknowledgements, from the monthly journal *Soviet Union* which he edits.

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destiny. Say nothing, have patience, and fight. No doubt there are some who find such explanations convenient: no demand means no supply. But this sort of thing is credible only to first-formers bashing one another's noses in the heat of the moment. In the age of electronics and space flight, science accepts only facts.

And the facts, if they are analysed without prejudice and seen as an interrelated, documented whole, inevitably lead to one conclusion: the causes of the second world war are real and comprehensible. Their essence is not merely in the contradictions of the capitalist countries, but primarily in that their leaders were only too clearly suffering from the blindness of 'anti-Bolshevism'. Let us briefly recall the salient points, as irrefutably recorded in the speeches of the above-mentioned leaders in their memorandums, and in the minutes of various meetings and negotiations: by arming fascist Germany and turning a blind eye to the pogroms and the frenzies of the military parades, they thought that they were creating a '*cordon sanitaire*' against the USSR; by betraying Czechoslovakia and throwing Poland on the mercy of fate—as is shown by Jodl's statement above—they consoled themselves with the illusion that they were buying off the Führer's claims in the West and diverting his claims in the direction of the Soviet Union. On their return from Munich, Chamberlain and Daladier exclaimed, as was recorded in the newsreel: 'We have brought you peace!' but what they had really brought was war.

The Soviet Union put up to the League of Nations a proposal for collective security: it was rejected. The Soviet Union suggested working out a definition of aggression: the suggestion was ignored. Only recently, decades later, was it adopted by the UN General Assembly. The Soviet Union tried to come to an agreement with the then leaders of France and Britain on joint defence: the proffered hand was ignored. Why? Because those Western leaders had allowed themselves to be put in blinkers and were being led up the garden path. By trading on anti-communism, Hitler was able to milk the Western European and American monopolies of the means wherewith to rebuild Germany's war industry and rearm. By trading on anti-communism, he laid a smokescreen behind which the most monstrous plans were being hatched.

The evil consequences are known. But even after the war it took time for some people to learn its lessons properly. Wherever cries about the 'menace of communism' are particularly loud, tragedy is in the making for the people. It was with anti-communist slogans that Greece's 'black colonels' rushed to strangle democracy, and only

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recently were they dumped into the garbage can of history. It was heartrending cries about the 'menace of communism' and the struggle with it that heralded the sanguinary drama of Chile.

It would seem that only in recent years has there been a growing awareness of the true state of affairs. The new leaders of the biggest Western states are assessing the lessons of history more realistically; the cold war is gradually becoming a thing of the past; good neighbourly relations are being established; and detente is becoming the chief trend in international affairs. Well, better late than never.

But we have not yet seen the last of those who are always ready to throw mud at history. Even Hitler's generals admit in their *memoires* that he underestimated the strength of the Soviet Union in believing that the communist ideology was imposed by force, that the fraternity and unity of the Soviet peoples were pure invention on the part of the Bolsheviks, that Soviet technical equipment was primitive, and that the economy was at its last gasp.

Hitler committed suicide. But the West is still a stamping ground for 'experts on Russian affairs' who attribute the defeat of the Germans in the Battle of Moscow to spells of frost of 40°C below zero, although there was never anything of the kind. Let them check from the meteorological records! In any case, it was winter weather for the Soviet soldiers too, and if the Germans at that time were dressed for a summer outing, then this was Berlin's blunder, not a freak of circumstance. Finally, at the Kursk Bulge, where Hitler's army suffered a catastrophic defeat after which it never took the offensive again, it was summer, the season of nightingales.

In the past decades there have been repeated claims in the American press that the Soviet Union achieved victory with the help of American arms. In point of fact, the arms received from the Allies and used in our army totalled about ten per cent whereas the other ninety per cent were of our own Soviet manufacture. Help is help nevertheless, and we are duly grateful. But couldn't the Allies have thanked us because—and the whole world has read about this fact—we pinned down and smashed on our fronts *two-thirds of all the fascist troops and material*? It is significant that Edward Stettinius, head of the American lend-lease organisation, noted that 'for all this aid, the Russians have already made a return far beyond any measurement in dollars or tons.' So why should some people go in for distortion and falsification?

As regards communist ideals and the fraternal unity of the Soviet peoples, I think the picture is clear. About 5,000,000 people joined the Communist Party during the war—entirely of their own free will.

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I did so myself, incidentally, when a battalion commander on the Stalingrad Front in the summer of 1942. Why did we join the Party at a time when things were going so badly for our country? Because, for us, the Party epitomised the highest human ideals, the ideals of the people, faith in ultimate victory. And when today certain 'radio voices' try to implicate Soviet citizens in the idea of national discord, or make heroes of isolated and vociferous 'dissidents' whose talents in and ideas about philosophy and sociology are limited to battered phrases of 40-year vintage, then this begins to look very odd indeed. Cannot these 'voices' understand that there is no future whatever for the former refugee executioners and Vlasovites whom they represent, or for the revenge-seekers of various breeds whose aspirations they express? The only amazing thing is why millions upon millions are being allotted for this purpose in conditions of Western inflation and rising prices.

And yet no matter how much the new anti-Soviet elements may intrigue in league with the old ones, the causes of the second world war and the lessons it taught are being understood more and more clearly by people and by nations. Up till the very beginning of the 1970s some people in the West still cherished illusions about a split between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. But these hopes have faded. And there is no sense whatever in the babblings of certain particularly unrestrained Western propagandists who claim that the Soviet Union 'converted' these countries 'to the communist faith' by force. The example of Cuba, not to mention many other transformations in the contemporary world, completely demolishes any such fabrications.

Meanwhile, one wise tendency is beginning to predominate more and more in international affairs, and that is the realistic acceptance of the true state of affairs resulting from the war and post-war development. It is this realism on the part of the political leaders and statesmen of the most powerful countries that has created the conditions under which confrontation is progressively giving way to negotiation, tension to detente, and the dangerous opposition of states with different social systems to coexistence.

Anyone familiar with the facts knows that the role of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party in consolidating peace is no less important than it was in the destruction of fascism. We can declare with a clear conscience to all our true allies in the struggle for a lasting peace and honourable co-operation: we did not fail you in time of war, and we shall not fail you now or in future.

Let beasts fight one another, but let men create!

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CLEMENS PALME DUTT (April 15, 1893—April 12, 1975)

The death of Clemens Dutt—thinker, organiser and writer—leaves a painful gap in the ranks of British revolutionary Marxists.

Brought up in a progressive family, a science graduate with first-class honours at Queens' College, Cambridge, he was for some time later a research worker in Long Ashton Botanical Station at Bristol. At Cambridge he had been active in the Socialist Society and at the beginning of 1919 became Secretary of the Bristol Communist Party formed by local socialists and leaders of the unemployed eighteen months before the Communist Party of Great Britain was founded, which he joined at once.

In April 1921 he began working at the Labour Research Department with his brother Raji. Clemens soon became also a voluntary helper of the Workers' Welfare League of India (forerunner of the India League) and was able to give considerable assistance to Indian communists in the early years of their movement.

From 1923 onwards, whenever he was available, he was a valued member of the editorial board of *Labour Monthly*, making profoundly thought-out but yet lucid and incisive interventions in discussions. With a command of German and French from university days, he produced several brilliant translations of classical Marxist works such as *The German Ideology*, and Engels's *Dialectics of Nature* as well as editing Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* and Engels's *Anti-Dühring* (translated by Emile Burns).

In his Bristol years he had taught himself Russian, which brought great benefit to the movement during the second world war and immediately afterwards, when he served as editor at 'Soviet Monitor', the establishment outside London which took down from the radio for the British press Soviet war communiqués, *Pravda* editorials, etc. After the war, following a period with the *Daily Worker*, Clemens became one of the main translators of Lenin's *Collected Works*, helping also to edit many of the forty volumes; and in the last few years had been working on the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels.

Clemens Dutt was indeed an outstanding member of the small band of intellectuals who after the October revolution threw in their lot with the advanced working class movement. *Labour Monthly* extends its sincere condolences to his sister Elna and his daughter Anna.

Some of the many articles by Clemens Dutt in *Labour Monthly* were: *The Indian Struggle for Independence* (1928), *The Role and Leadership of the Indian Working Class* (1929), *Some Lessons of the Woollen Textile Struggle* (1930), *The Indian National Revolution* ('Notes of the Month', June 1930), *The Imperialist Warmakers and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle* (1932), *Dialectical Materialism and Natural Science* (1933), *Spain and the Struggle for Peace* (1936), *The People's Front and the Class Struggle in France* (1939), *The Colonial Question and War* (1940), *Italian Fascism on the Scrapheap* (1943), *The French Political Situation* (1944), *Mines Nationalisation in France* (1945), *Peace in the Balance* ('Notes', June 1946), *War Moves over the Middle East* (1952), *Charles Darwin* (1959) and *Theories of Alienation* (1972).

Andrew Rothstein

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In International Women's Year the Staff Section of the AUEW says:

'Men's pay for women'

On this May Day let our movement
pledge to make a serious effort
to abolish the many inequalities
which women suffer in our society,
without which this aim cannot
be fully achieved

Barry Seager
Acting President

Ken Gill
General Secretary

AUEW-TASS, Onslow Hall, Little Green, Richmond Surrey

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CORRESPONDENCE:

The Battle for Detente Goes On

It is important for socialists to know the facts, and the article by Quaestor (*LM*, March 1975) has given some information on the expenditure on armaments by the US and the USSR. It would be of interest to see figures not only in terms of proportionality of budgets but as against GNP and national income.

If detente equals 'prevention of unilateral military advantage', then we might assume that the volume of armaments would be approximately the same in both countries, and this is to some extent borne out by the agreement for equivalence of 1,320 MIRVs. If equivalence in other areas of armaments is the same and there is a considerable differential in the GNP (and it has been stated elsewhere that the US has twice that of the USSR), then the burden on the USSR may well be greater.

Questions arise such as: Has the USSR as much military hardware as the US? Does the burden fall as heavily on both countries? Does a diminishing budgetry percentage of expenditure reveal the full facts? USSR 1973-75 reduction in expenditure from 17,900 million roubles to 17,400 equals 2.8 per cent, or 1.4 per cent per annum. With an increase in productivity this could still mean the same, or more, armaments; certainly the USSR will need also to increase MIRVs to 1,320 as the US.

The figures for our own expenditure (p 103) are not presented proportionately to budget or GNP or national income, but in terms of £s not reduced to real terms in relation to inflation, so again we cannot get comparisons. The 22 per cent increase in cost may conceal a reduction in actual hardware.

The problem for socialists is to be able to put clearly what the burden of armaments *is*, and whether it arises from one policy or another, from detente or otherwise. There is no mistake: the arms race between the US and USSR continues and intensifies. Detente there may be but the burdens are enormous.

We need to look at the figures in relation to a common base figure so that we can explain the cost of the world divisions and contradictions. We should not shirk an explanation that the burden on the USSR can be intolerable too, that the weight of accumulation of terror weapons is enormous. And there is the distortion of the economy—not less in the USSR than elsewhere where vast internal debts have been accumulated—and the distortion of internal political situations caused by the need to administer large military establishments.

Perhaps you have references to the figures, but, better still, could we have an appraisal of what it is doing to the economies of the USSR and US? It is not enough to say that more or less profit is made by armaments in the US or USSR: from the point of view of the US the figures (paragraph 2, p 102) give them (the US) a comparison they understand —just as it reveals the vast profit on-cost. It would show the relevance of the 'policy of equivalence' in hardware—the same number of MIRVs, submarines, bombs, etc. An overcalculation of 13 per cent is quibbling in terms of the method of estimating profit on-cost, inflation allowance, etc. The facts appear to be that the US spends $94,000 million and the USSR (?) $70-80,000 million plus or minus $10,000 million or $20,000 million. These are vast sums in any event. How does

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the expenditure follow from the policy of detente? Would it be greater or less in some other policy? Should socialists hope that the USSR does keep up with the US? If not, what per cent of US expenditure would be 'safe'?

In some future article perhaps some of these points could be raised: we must have figures which can be clearly used to demonstrate just how much working people have to pay for these armaments, and this can best be done if we can have some statistics which express—in terms of wages or production or taxation—costs in human terms.

LESLIE TURNER
Maidstone, Kent

Quaestor replies:

The year books of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR—which, it is worth reminding readers, are based on the needs of Soviet planned economy and are published (in Russian only) in order to help in that planning, not for external propaganda purposes—enable me to reply *in essentials* to Mr Turner's questions. Not to all: the Soviet Union does not publish details of its armaments for very good reasons. But the questions which he puts at the end of his letter can be answered.

Before doing so, three observations on phrases used in that letter. First, detente is not *equal* to 'prevention of unilateral military advantage': that was the condition agreed in principle at the outset for the disarmament discussions at Vienna, and so far has not been kept by the capitalist countries. Such a reduction will of course help detente enormously: but it is not all of detente.

Secondly, the arms race between the US and the USSR does continue, but only because the Soviet Union has for years been proposing drastic reductions in nuclear and conventional armaments and armies, whereas the US (with British support) has been resisting such reductions. Or, put another way, the burden of armaments does not and cannot 'arise from detente' (using Mr Turner's words), but does follow from resistance to detente and disarmament.

Thirdly, it is not a 'fact' that the USSR spends '$70-80,000 million, plus or minus' etc, on armaments. Mr Turner seems to have been taken in by another Pentagon lie. Even 17,900 million roubles are less than $24,000 million—one quarter of the Pentagon's fairy story which he quotes—and the latest Soviet defence bill of 17,400 million roubles is still less.

Now for his questions: In Table 1 opposite are the actual comparative expenditures by the Soviet Union in the fields he asks for: not just of 'production', a vague term, but (1) of the *gross* yearly social product of the means of creating wealth, which are all owned by the Soviet people; and (2) of the national income, which is the total *net* new material values created in one year, i.e. after wear and tear, materials used up in production, etc, are deducted; and (3) not just of 'wages', because a large part of the Soviet people—the collective farmers—get their remuneration not as wages but as a share of the produce they have created on their collective or co-operative farms: hence the amount shown is of *consumption* by the whole people. Table 2 shows the *proportion* which defence expenditure (item 4) represents, compared with each of the other items, 1, 2 and 3.

Thus readers will see, *first* that

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Table 1: Annual Soviet Expenditure in Milliards of Roubles

	1970	1971	1972	1973
(1) Gross social product (industry, agriculture, transport, etc) ..	643.5	685.3	717.4	769.8
(2) National income (net social product)	289.9	305.0	313.6	337.2
(3) Personal consumption by the Soviet people	177.9	187.8	198.1	207.5
(4) Defence expenditure	17.9	17.9	17.9	17.9

the national production and income of the USSR are steadily rising from year to year; *secondly*, that the amount available for consumption by the people (wages and other remuneration) is also going up steadily—while, as has often been pointed out, prices for all staple commodities which the household requires, plus rents, fares, etc, all remain constant or actually fall, and health, education, cultural services, etc, constantly expand; *thirdly*, that as a result the proportion of what the working people produce which they have to pay for these armaments—'the cost in human terms', as Mr Turner puts it—is falling from year to year, which, judging from the newspapers, does not seem to apply to the US.

This does not mean that armaments are not a heavy burden. It is only tolerated by the Soviet people because they know that they lost 1½ million dead when invaded by the Western democracies and Japan in 1917-22, and 20 million dead when invaded by Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and other fascist satellites in 1941-45; while the devastation in lives and wealth caused by the US in China, Cuba, Korea and Vietnam after the second world war, is almost as fresh in their memories. Moral force is not enough in such circumstances.

But those armaments are *of course* a heavy burden. That is precisely why the Soviet Union for decades has been pressing for real disarmament.

Table 2: Defence Expenditure as a percentage of items (1), (2) and (3) in Table 1

	1970	1971	1972	1973
Per cent of (1)	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.3
Per cent of (2)	6.2	5.9	5.7	5.3
Per cent of (3)	10.1	9.5	9.0	8.6

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National Union of Mineworkers

(Yorkshire Area)

extends May Day greetings to all fellow trade unionists and calls for—

THE IMMEDIATE NATIONALISATION OF ALL MEANS OF PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND EXCHANGE AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS A SOCIALIST BRITAIN

A. Scargill, *President*
J. T. Leigh, *Vice-President*
O. Briscoe, *General Secretary*
R. Horbury, *Financial Secretary*

THE FIRE BRIGADES UNION

sends May Day greetings to trade unionists everywhere

Enoch Humphries
President

Terence Parry
General Secretary

SOCIETY OF GRAPHICAL AND ALLIED TRADES

The National Executive Council of SOGAT extends to all friends its sincere wishes for a successful 1975, and a continued advance towards a democratic socialist society.

W. H. KEYS
General Secretary

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A May Day message from William Morris

IF I were a non-socialist and were interested in the preservation of the society of privilege, I would conceive a hope from the present situation of hoodwinking the working men into accepting what I should name (to them) a kind of semi-, or demi-semi-socialism, which would do no sort of harm to the society of privilege. I should condescend to socialism and pat it on the back. I should say, as indeed I have heard such worthies say, 'Socialism, my friends, cannot give you what it promises, but I am pleased to see you socialists because all this labour agitation will call people's attention to the condition of the working classes and will improve it. You will find that you must work *with* the capitalists and not *against* them, so that you may *extend markets, contend successfully with other nations, and improve business*. By that means, though this socialist agitation is founded on principles which are wrong, and which cannot be carried out in practice, yet it will have given you enhanced wages, reduction of the hours of labour, more permanency of employment, better housing, gas and water galore, and an extended franchise. And then (but I don't know when) you will be happy and contented—and, which is more to the point, so shall we.'

That, I say, will be the sort of line to take for those who wish to keep labour—i.e. usefulness—out of its heritage. And I think it will be taken, I fear not unsuccessfully. For the present necessities of working people are so great that they must take what they can get . . . they can scarcely, the average of them, turn their hopes to a future which they may never see. And yet, if that future is not to be indefinitely postponed, they must repudiate this demi-semi-socialism. They must say: '£2 a week instead of £1; eight hours work instead of nine, ten, twelve; out-of-door relief galore to supplement the out-of-work periods; comfortable (Lord help us) lodgings found by the municipality—all these are fine things indeed. But we will not even think of them unless we can use them for getting all the benefits which we *know* will follow upon the abolition of privilege and the realisation of equality.'

(William Morris, writing eighty years ago in a special May Day number of *Justice*, the organ of the Social-Democratic Federation.)

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The Executive Council of the
Foundry Section of the

AMALGAMATED UNION OF ENGINEERING WORKERS

send May Day greetings for peace, progress, freedom and international solidarity to workers in all countries throughout the world.

R. Garland, *General Secretary*
J. Bradshaw, *President*

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the leading socialist weekly

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BOOKS

Emma Paterson
Harold Goldman
Lawrence & Wishart, 128 pp, £1.95

A BOOK about Emma Paterson deserves attention and is likely to command it. She pioneered the fight to win the trade union movement to organise women, and for women themselves to lead that fight. She takes her place with that heroic company of nineteenth-century women who asserted the rebellion of their sex against their harem-like subjugation, the Florence Nightingales of the upper crust, the suffrage fighters, the Elizabeth Garret Andersons breaking into the professions, and she is a worthy predecessor of those who today fight for a social system which will enable full equality of the sexes to become a reality.

Harold Goldman sums up her achievements too modestly. She founded a few unions not all of which survived. She broke through into the male-run TUC. She successfully ran a printing press with women. And so on. But her real achievement is to be assessed in terms of the problems she saw and raised in connection with women in industry, and in the influence which she exerted on the thinking and development of the trade union and labour movement, and of women primarily in it.

The writer has done his research, but it peeps out of the book too sparingly; he does not take the reader into his confidence sufficiently. The result is a book which leaves a great deal untold. The personality of Emma Paterson does not come over any more than if we read the sort of potted biography which appears in *Who's Who.* We get the facts, some of them, not enough of them, but what made the woman tick we do not know. She read widely, we are told: but what she read we do not know. She mastered German and Italian—but to what end? 'She had come to the view that votes for women was not the only answer to the sufferings of her sex.' Such indications raise as many questions as they answer. We know that Emma edited a journal, *The Women's Union Journal*; and the author tells us what she did with it: but a photograph of a page or so, or of its frontispiece, or of editorial comment would have helped.

If this biography inspires another writer to research the subject, it will have served a useful purpose; and if the publishers will ensure that an index and some illustrations are added to any further edition that may be called for, they will help to make the book more useful than it at present is. BEN AINLEY

Victorian Infidels
Edward Royle
Manchester University Press, 358 pp, £6

THE SECULARIST movement was one which arose in the late 1840s out of the relics of Owenism and moral force Chartism. As its purposes were defined by George Jacob Holyoake in 1848, secularism sought happiness and moral sanctions within this world without reference to any hypothetical existence beyond the grave. It was therefore essentially atheistic and was able to gather to itself the older anti-Biblical and anti-clerical traditions which had found a hearing in working class circles from the days of Thomas Paine. The new secularism which now arose was a working class movement finding its main

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support among the artisans of the larger towns. Of late, historians of the working class movement have paid it fresh attention. An excellent essay, *The Atheist Mission,* was published by Professor C. R. Smith, of Canberra. Very important research work exists in university theses by Dr Susan Budd and Dr Gillian Hawtin. Indeed, the thesis by Dr Hawtin is the most complete study existing of G. J. Holyoake and it is a serious loss to scholarship that inflated costs have prevented its publication. Dr Edward Royle of the University of York has been able to publish his thesis, a study of secularism from Paine's propaganda of 1791 to the foundation of the National Secular Society with Charles Bradlaugh as president in 1866. It is a work of considerable importance to any student of working class ideas as they existed during this period.

As is to be expected, Dr Royle gives considerable space to the middle years of the century when the secular viewpoint was typified by Holyoake and his magazine, the *Reasoner.* It was a time of change. Older religious views held sway socially in a country which was nominally and legally Christian. Blasphemy laws could still be invoked, as Holyoake himself found out in 1842 when he was prosecuted and imprisoned at the suit of the ultra-Evangelical clergy of Cheltenham. Ecclesiastical taxation was in force, and the payment of Church rates was a bitter point with artisans who were not members of the Church of England. Until 1869, an atheist was at a loss in a court of law because he could not take a theological oath, and his evidence was thereby excluded. There was still a tax upon newspapers, which served to hamper the spread of knowledge. At the same time, the physical sciences were undermining the cosmology of *Genesis,* and the controversy between religion and science was already under way. A few of the clergy were passing into more liberal phases of mind, as is illustrated in Charles Kingsley's novel, *Alton Locke.* But there was still a long way to go, and it is not surprising to encounter the astonishment of the young Engels when he contrasted the climates of England and Germany in these matters.

Two figures stand forth in the secularist saga. Holyoake was calm and dignified, intent upon an intellectual approach aimed at securing civil and religious liberty. For years, he maintained the struggle in terms which observed with care the decencies of public controversy. Charles Bradlaugh was of different type. Brought up in highly conventional but poverty-stricken circles of East London, he had outraged his family by associating with atheists and republicans. Poverty forced him to enlist, and he spent a couple of years as a trooper. When he returned to civilian life in 1855, he was ambitious to lead the secularist movement. Bradlaugh was self-educated but with considerable gifts, and he was also something of an orator. But his upbringing had made him also not a little of a bully and a man given to hammer-and-tongs methods of controversy. His atheism was of a more dogmatic tone than that of Holyoake. Even as told by Dr Royle, the story of the manner in which he superseded Holyoake as secularist chief and secured the termination of his journal, the *Reasoner,* is not pretty. Even if Bradlaugh did wage a mighty war on superstition, he did so in a manner which shocked and rasped, rather than by a use of the methods which commended themselves to

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Holyoake. From this time the movement was split. Bradlaugh went on to become a member of parliament and to fight a determined battle over the parliamentary oath. But his life was one in which he defeated his opponents by oratorial violence rather than winning upon the field of intellectual conviction. His disciples were of a rougher, less literate type than were the supporters of Holyoake. Perhaps his method is seen at its clearest in his last great public debate, that with H. M. Hyndman on socialism. Dr Royle's account proves one fact, the need for a thoroughgoing academic study of Bradlaugh and his career at large.

In closing, Dr Royle indicates the reason why secularism foundered in the end. It is true that the ecclesiastical climate was changing and the old battlefields were becoming deserted. But a more vital reason was the rise of socialism as a force in the working class circles of the 1880s. Socialist economics were taking the place of anti-Biblicism, and the secularists were, for the most part, radical liberals who were out of sympathy with the new developments. Holyoake spent his political energies within the Liberal Party. Bradlaugh was always a liberal radical with a decided antipathy to socialist ideas. It was a blow to him when his lieutenant, Mrs Besant, left him for the Fabian Society. Dr Aveling was yet another deserter. For the Marxist, this is one of the more important points in the whole story. Secularism achieved a certain number of incidental reforms within a bourgeois social order when the churches were still controlled by the propertied classes. But the real struggles were still those of capital and labour, of class conflict. The remarks of Marx and Engels upon organised religion and its place within society were more telling than those of Bradlaugh. Secularism was a dying cause so far as the organised movement was concerned, because the future lay in the direction of a socialist society.

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT

Chile's Road to Socialism
Salvador Allende
Penguin, 208 pp, 40p

A REFUGEE family from Chile arrive and settle in a London neighbourhood. They are lovely people, with lovely children, making friends in a new community. In spite of dreadful experiences at the time of the military coup and before they escaped, such families are among the lucky ones—no money and few possessions, but safe for the present. For those who remain in Chile the situation is grim indeed. Thousands dead, thousands tortured, thousands dismissed from their jobs, inflation at an unbelievable rate, thousands with not enough to eat. A reign of terror which we in this country can only begin to imagine.

This collection of speeches by Salvador Allende and the programme of Unidad Popular makes extremely interesting, but at times very sad, reading. 'The armed forces of Chile are the armed forces of the country. They are not in the service of one man nor of one government. They are of the nation, and this is one of the factors which characterise Chile and distinguish it from other countries.' And it seems that the great lesson for the British working class from the holocaust in Chile is to convince us, once and for all, that the British capitalist class is capable of anything, that democratic traditions mean absolutely nothing to them and that we could just as easily find ourselves bombed and strafed by Hawker Hunters when we reach a position which threatens their power. It is not

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inevitable, but how we prevent it does not enter into our discussions as often as it should.

The other question is the way we work in a united front. In what way do we work for our own policies, which must be aimed at achieving a socialist revolution, while at the same time working for unity around broad policies which inevitably aim at achieving less than this? (And anything less than socialism is capitalism, with the state and all its apparatus geared to defending capitalism.) Our road to socialism is as complicated and difficult as that of Chile. That it is less bloody is up to us.

MARGARET GOODWIN

Communist Party of Ireland: An Outline History

New Books, Dublin, 64 pp, 45p

IN LARGE, close-packed pages, this book presents a fascinating account of the Communist movement in Ireland, South and North, since its beginnings in 1921. It shows how the Irish workers have been second to none in tenacity and self-sacrifice, conducting repeated struggles against economic exploitation, reaction and the manifestations of imperialism in Ireland.

The struggles had their high points, such as in 1932 when the Protestant and Catholic workers of Belfast joined in a mighty army of protest to fight and defeat the cuts in relief payments; such as 1936, when the Irish contingent went to join the International Brigade in Spain; and—one must add—1975, which has just seen the biggest ever Congress of a united Communist Party of Ireland. There have been setbacks and suffering, such as the hooligan attacks of 1933-36, when the Party's Dublin premises were burnt down, or the early fifties, when street meetings were broken up and canvassers with the Stockholm Peace Appeal chased through the streets; such as the deportation of Irish-born Jim Gralton to the US in 1933, or the threats of excommunication which crippled the Kilkenny Miners' Union.

I warmly recommend the book as a treasure house of information, inspiration and enthralling anecdote.

It suffers somewhat from being written by a number of pens, rendering it more of an anthology of highlights strung along the rope of time than a consecutive history which could show to the full the lessons to be drawn by all Marxists from Ireland's peculiar and unique relationship with British capitalism, and the interaction of imperialist and progressive forces and the way in which the latter have been confused, divided and set back by failure—now being increasingly overcome—to understand the way in which imperialism really functions in both parts of Ireland.

But perhaps one expects too much from what is professedly an *outline* history. The full story, when it comes, should prove even more fascinating and valuable.

PATRICK BOND

CORRECTION

On page 154 of *Labour Monthly,* April 1975, a quotation was attributed in error to Lord Justice Denham. The reference should have been to Lord Denning MR.

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MAY DAY GREETINGS

from the Editor and staff of

SOVIET WEEKLY

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TRADE UNIONISTS, SHOPPERS AND TENANTS

THE quartet of articles on the referendum in this issue of *LM* must be a convincing presentation of the case to any 'Don't know' surviving into May among those in the labour movement whose hearts are usually 'in the right place' and who have any record of activity in the wards where they live or work.

My place of work is in a ward in Margaret Thatcher's constituency. It is my pleasure to offer help to the local campaign committee with lunch-hour leafleting and *LM* sales in our (not her) shopping centre.

The ward where I live is in a city-centre constituency with a fair record of tenants' organisation. One active representative told me it would hurt him to 'vote against the Italians and French,' for whom he has a strong affection: he acknowledges this to be an emotional response but nonetheless a determining factor in thinking he will vote 'for Europe'. He is among those who must read *LM* early in May in order to join our ward campaign in time to convince others.

While this issue of the journal is doing its job of convincing those 'Don't knows' and emotional voters to say 'Enough' and then 'No', let me ask the many who are convinced to put something into the *LM* fund. The March collection shown below was dangerously low. We need your help now in May, in June and in the future.

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Our thanks to you all. **Nicola Seyd**

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Industrial Relations Act, A. W. J. Thomson and S. R. Engleman. Martin Robertson, 184pp, £4.85.

Culture and Socialist Democracy, György Aczél. Lawrence & Wishart, 268pp, £1.25.

Do Trade Unions Cause Inflation? Jackson, Turner and Wilkinson. Cambridge University Press, 128pp, £1.50.

Unfair Dismissal: How and Why the Law Works, Dudley Jackson. Cambridge University Press, 92pp, £3.

Civil Liberties in Britain, Barry Cox. Penguin, 336pp, 90p.

The Arms Trade with the Third World, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Penguin, 362pp, £1.

Explosion in a Subcontinent, Robin Blackburn. Penguin, 378pp, 95p.

Rich against Poor: The Reality of Aid, C. R. Hensman. Penguin, 294pp, 90p.

Proletarians and African Capitalism: The Kenyan Case 1960-1972, Richard Sandbrook. Cambridge University Press, 222pp, £8.

Marx as an Economist, George Thomson. Lawrence & Wishart, 32pp, 45p.

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